

Interviews: 1505 respondents
Dates: March 15-19, 1991

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

| AR EA | TYPE | SAM PLE | FOR M | DAT E |
|----------|------|---------------|----------|-----------|
| [6] [7] | [8] | [9] [10] [11] | [12] | [13] [14] |
| | | | | |

March 1991

TI
[15] [16] [17] [18]

Be sure

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

- | | | | |
|---------------|----|---------------------------------------|------|
| Yes..... | 10 | CONTINUE | [19] |
| | 0 | | |
| No..... | - | TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT | |
| Not sure..... | - | | |

- 2/91 12/90 10/90 9/90 7/90 5/90 4/9 3/9 1/90 11/8 9/8

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|----|----|----|------------|--------|----|----------|----------|----|----------|----------|-----|--|
| | | | | | Study 4016 | page 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | 45 | 40 | 42 | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | | <u>9</u> | <u>9</u> | | |
| Right direction | 55 | 65 | 28 | 22 | | | | 47 | 44 | 49 | 41 | 42 | [20 | |
| Wrong track | 26 | 22 | 51 | 59 | 40 | 37 | 38 | 32 | 31 | 29 | 35 | 34 |] | |
| Mixed (VOL) | 15 | 9 | 15 | 14 | 10 | 18 | 16 | 13 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 19 | | |
| Not sure | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | | |

3. I'm going to read you the names of several groups and people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

| | <u>Very Positive</u> | <u>Somewha t Positive</u> | <u>Neu -tral</u> | <u>Somewha t Negative</u> | <u>Very Negativ e</u> | <u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|------|
| George Bush..... | 50 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 1 | [21] |
| October 1990 | 20 | 36 | 17 | 15 | 11 | 1 | |
| July 1990 | 26 | 42 | 16 | 10 | 5 | 1 | |
| May 1990 | 28 | 40 | 15 | 11 | 5 | 1 | |
| March 1990 | 32 | 37 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 1 | |
| December 1989 | 28 | 33 | 21 | 11 | 5 | 2 | |
| November 1989 | 24 | 38 | 17 | 11 | 8 | 2 | |
| Mario Cuomo..... | 7 | 18 | 23 | 10 | 7 | 35 | [22] |
| October 1990 | 10 | 17 | 22 | 11 | 6 | 34 | |
| Dick Cheney..... | 27 | 33 | 15 | 4 | 2 | 19 | [23] |
| February 1991 | 33 | 33 | 13 | 2 | 2 | 17 | |
| Lloyd Bentsen..... | 6 | 19 | 25 | 10 | 6 | 34 | [24] |
| Colin Powell..... | 43 | 28 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 18 | [25] |
| February 1991 | 46 | 22 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 21 | |
| Richard Gephardt..... | 5 | 21 | 28 | 10 | 4 | 32 | [26] |
| Sam Nunn..... | 6 | 19 | 23 | 8 | 4 | 40 | [27] |
| James Baker..... | 23 | 40 | 15 | 8 | 5 | 9 | [28] |
| May 1990 | 12 | 32 | 24 | 12 | 8 | 12 | |
| Albert Gore..... | 4 | 17 | 26 | 9 | 2 | 42 | [29] |
| Mikhail Gorbachev..... | 10 | 32 | 23 | 17 | 11 | 7 | [30] |
| February 1991 | 7 | 32 | 30 | 18 | 8 | 5 | |
| July 1990 | 22 | 43 | 17 | 8 | 5 | 5 | |
| May 1990 | 19 | 40 | 19 | 10 | 6 | 6 | |
| December 1989 | 15 | 36 | 26 | 11 | 6 | 6 | |
| November 1989 | 13 | 41 | 20 | 10 | 8 | 8 | |
| Dan Quayle..... | 7 | 26 | 29 | 15 | 18 | 5 | [31] |
| October 1990 | 5 | 22 | 28 | 19 | 19 | 7 | |
| July 1990 | 6 | 22 | 33 | 16 | 14 | 9 | |
| May 1990 | 7 | 22 | 29 | 18 | 19 | 5 | |
| March 1990 | 7 | 21 | 28 | 17 | 19 | 8 | |
| November 1989 | 7 | 22 | 26 | 17 | 21 | 7 | |

- 4a. Looking ahead to the election for U.S. Congress in 1992, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

| | | 10/30 | 10/19 | 9/9 | 7/9 | 5/9 | 3/9 | 1/9 | 11/8 | 9/8 | |
|--|----|--------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| | | - | - | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 9 | |
| | | <u>31/90</u> | <u>21/90</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Vote for the Republican candidate..... | 30 | 33 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 29 | [32] |
| Vote for the Democratic candidate..... | 30 | 35 | 40 | 37 | 36 | 33 | 34 | 31 | 32 | 32 | |
| Depends (VOL)..... | 27 | 14 | 12 | 14 | 17 | 22 | 29 | 33 | 28 | 24 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 16 | 14 | 16 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 12 | 14 | |

- 4b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

| | | 2/91 | 1/91 | 12/90 | 10/30 | 10/19-21/90 | 9/90 | 7/90 | 5/90 | 4/90 | 3/90 | 1/90 | 11/89 | 9/89 | |
|------------|----|------|------|-------|--------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| | | | | 0 | 0- | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | <u>31/90</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 81 | 85 | 77 | 57 | 56 | 59 | 75 | 67 | 72 | 75 | 69 | 71 | 67 | 67 | [33] |
| Disapprove | 13 | 11 | 15 | 36 | 32 | 32 | 15 | 22 | 21 | 15 | 19 | 19 | 22 | 17 | |
| Not sure | 6 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 12 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 16 | |

- 4c. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

| | | 12/90 | 10/90 | 9/90 | 7/9 | 5/9 | 4/9 | 3/9 | 1/9 | 11/8 | 9/8 | |
|-----------------|----|-------|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 9 | |
| Approve..... | 44 | 37 | 35 | 52 | 48 | 51 | 59 | 53 | 54 | 52 | 61 | [34] |
| Disapprove..... | 45 | 54 | 55 | 36 | 41 | 40 | 30 | 35 | 31 | 33 | 24 | |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 15 | 15 | 15 | |

- 4d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

| | | 12/9 | 10/9 | 9/90 | 7/9 | 5/9 | 4/9 | 3/9 | 1/9 | 11/8 | 9/8 | |
|--------------|----|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| | | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 9 | |
| Approve..... | 83 | 56 | 63 | 75 | 67 | 67 | 70 | 67 | 69 | 59 | 58 | [35] |
| Disapprove | 11 | 37 | 30 | 17 | 22 | 25 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 27 | 26 | |
| Not sure... | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 14 | 16 | |

5. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---------|------|
| Strong Democrat..... | 2 | ASK | [36] |
| | 0 | Q.6. | |
| Not strong Democrat..... | 1 | | |
| | 4 | | |
| Independent/lean Democrat..... | 7 | | |
| Strictly Independent..... | 1 | | |
| | 5 | | |
| Independent/lean Republican..... | 1 | SKIP TO | |

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|-------|
| | Study 4016page 2 | Q.7a. |
| Not strong Republican..... | 1 | |
| | 3 | |
| Strong Republican..... | 1 | |
| | 4 | |
| Other..... | 3 | |
| Refused..... | 1 | |
| Don't know/nothing..... | 2 | |

(ASKED ONLY OF DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS) Study 2016 page 2

6. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. (READ LIST.) If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----|-------------|------|
| | | <u>10/9</u> | |
| | | 0 | |
| Lloyd Bentsen..... | 12 | 14 | [37] |
| Mario Cuomo..... | 18 | 21 | |
| Richard Gephardt..... | 7 | 9 | |
| Albert Gore..... | 6 | 5 | |
| Jesse Jackson..... | 16 | 17 | |
| Bob Kerrey..... | 1 | 2 | |
| Sam Nunn..... | 7 | 6 | |
| Doug Wilder..... | 3 | 2 | |
| Someone else (VOL)..... | 2 | 3 | |
| None (VOL)..... | 12 | 11 | |
| Not sure..... | 16 | 10 | |

(ASK EVERYONE)

- 7a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Lloyd Bentsen, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Bentsen?

| | | | |
|--------------------|----|--------------|------|
| | | <u>10/90</u> | |
| George Bush..... | 70 | 53 | [38] |
| Lloyd Bentsen..... | 21 | 33 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 2 | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | 11 | |

- 7b. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Mario Cuomo, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Cuomo ("QUO-moe")?

| | | | |
|--------------------|----|--------------|------|
| | | <u>10/90</u> | |
| George Bush..... | 67 | 52 | [39] |
| Mario Cuomo..... | 22 | 35 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 2 | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 9 | 10 | |

- 7c. And if the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Albert Gore, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Gore?

| | | |
|--------------------|---|------|
| George Bush..... | 6 | [40] |
| | 8 | |
| Albert Gore..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |

8. If you learned that your representative in Congress voted against giving President Bush the authority to take military action against Iraq after the January 15 U.N. deadline and in favor of giving economic sanctions more time to get Iraq out of Kuwait, would you be more likely or less likely to support your representative for reelection next year, or would it not make much difference?

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------|
| More likely to support..... | 1 | [41] |
| | 8 | |
| Less likely to support..... | 4 | |
| | 1 | |
| Would not make much | 3 | |
| difference..... | 6 | |

- 9a. Let me read you a list of domestic issues and problems facing the nation today. Please tell me which one you would most like to see the federal government in Washington do something about.

| | | |
|--|---|------|
| Education..... | 2 | [42] |
| | 6 | |
| Crime..... | 1 | |
| | 4 | |
| Mass transit, roads, and highways..... | 2 | |
| Poverty and homelessness..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| Health care..... | 9 | |
| Drugs..... | 9 | |
| Abortion..... | 3 | |
| The environment..... | 7 | |
| All equally (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| None of these (VOL)..... | - | |
| Not sure..... | - | |

(FORM A ONLY)

- 9b. Let me read you some issues again. When it comes to (READ ITEM), which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

| | Democrat c Party | Republica n Party | Both | Neith er | Not Sure | |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------|
| Strengthening our educational system..... | 28 | 14 | 30 | 20 | 8 | [43] |
| October 1990 | 33 | 15 | 30 | 14 | 8 | |
| November 1989 | 30 | 15 | 32 | 15 | 8 | |
| Improving mass transit, roads, and highways..... | 24 | 20 | 23 | 17 | 16 | [44] |
| Assisting the homeless..... | 56 | 11 | 13 | 11 | 9 | [45] |
| November 1989 | 51 | 10 | 20 | 13 | 6 | |
| Providing better health care..... | 47 | 14 | 16 | 13 | 10 | [46] |
| Getting the country out of a recession | 21 | 38 | 14 | 16 | 11 | [47] |
| December 1990 | 33 | 33 | 7 | 17 | 10 | |
| October 1990 | 31 | 36 | 6 | 13 | 14 | |
| Reducing the drug problem..... | 16 | 25 | 23 | 24 | 12 | [48] |
| October 1990 | 20 | 18 | 30 | 24 | 8 | |
| November 1989 | 15 | 21 | 31 | 24 | 9 | |
| Protecting the environment..... | 35 | 16 | 25 | 15 | 9 | [49] |
| October 1990 | 38 | 15 | 27 | 13 | 7 | |
| November 1990 | 36 | 15 | 25 | 14 | 10 | |
| Keeping world peace..... | 15 | 43 | 23 | 9 | 10 | [50] |
| October 1990 | 22 | 25 | 36 | 11 | 6 | |
| November 1989 | 17 | 31 | 38 | 7 | 7 | |

(FORM B ONLY)

Study 4016page 2

9b. Let me read you some other issues. When it comes to (READ ITEM), which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

| | Democrat c Party | Republica n Party | Both | Neith er | Not Sure | |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------|
| Ensuring a strong national defense.... | 10 | 48 | 30 | 5 | 7 | [51] |
| November 1989 | 15 | 51 | 21 | 5 | 8 | |
| Dealing with the economy..... | 30 | 31 | 19 | 11 | 9 | [52] |
| October 1990 | 31 | 30 | 21 | 13 | 5 | |
| November 1989 | 26 | 40 | 18 | 10 | 6 | |
| Dealing with taxes..... | 30 | 32 | 16 | 13 | 9 | [53] |
| October 1990 | 38 | 25 | 17 | 14 | 6 | |
| November 1989 | 29 | 36 | 16 | 12 | 7 | |
| Controlling interest rates..... | 23 | 38 | 15 | 11 | 13 | [54] |
| Reducing unemployment..... | 42 | 23 | 15 | 10 | 10 | [55] |
| October 1990 | 40 | 24 | 18 | 11 | 7 | |
| November 1989 | 36 | 27 | 19 | 9 | 9 | |
| Reducing the federal deficit..... | 23 | 29 | 15 | 23 | 10 | [56] |
| October 1990 | 25 | 27 | 19 | 23 | 6 | |
| November 1989 | 21 | 28 | 17 | 26 | 8 | |
| Protecting America's interests on trade issues..... | 21 | 35 | 22 | 9 | 13 | [57] |
| October 1990 | 22 | 35 | 24 | 9 | 10 | |
| November 1989 | 20 | 36 | 23 | 9 | 12 | |
| Controlling inflation..... | 20 | 37 | 19 | 14 | 10 | [58] |
| November 1989 | 20 | 41 | 18 | 14 | 7 | |

(BOTH FORMS)

9c. There is much discussion as to the amount of money the government in Washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. How do you feel about this? Do you think we are spending too little, too much, or the right amount?

| | | GALLUP All Adults 8/90 | GALLUP All Adults 1/90 | GALLUP All Adults 1983 | GALLUP All Adults 2/81 | |
|-----------------------|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------|
| Too little..... | 11 | 15 | 10 | 21 | 51 | [59] |
| Too much..... | 37 | 41 | 50 | 37 | 15 |] |
| The right amount..... | 48 | 40 | 35 | 36 | 22 | |
| Not sure..... | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 12 | |

10a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? Study 40 page 2

| | | <u>12/9</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/90</u> | <u>7/90</u> | <u>5/90</u> | <u>4/90</u> | <u>3/90</u> | <u>1/90</u> | <u>11/89</u> | <u>9/8</u> | |
|----------------------------|----|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|------|
| Better..... | 8 | <u>0</u> 3 | <u>0</u> 3 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 15 | <u>9</u> 18 | [60] |
| Worse..... | 64 | 73 | 72 | 57 | 37 | 36 | 30 | 37 | 29 | 34 | 23 | |
| Stayed about the same..... | 27 | 23 | 24 | 35 | 51 | 52 | 56 | 48 | 57 | 49 | 57 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | |

10b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

| | | <u>1/9</u> | <u>12/9</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/9</u> | <u>7/9</u> | <u>5/90</u> | <u>4/90</u> | <u>3/90</u> | <u>1/90</u> | <u>11/8</u> | <u>9/89</u> | |
|--------------------------|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|------|
| Better..... | 46 | <u>1</u> 25 | <u>0</u> 21 | <u>0</u> 13 | <u>0</u> 16 | <u>0</u> 20 | 22 | 24 | 21 | 22 | <u>9</u> 21 | 25 | [61] |
| Worse..... | 20 | 40 | 45 | 52 | 49 | 33 | 32 | 29 | 30 | 28 | 33 | 23 | |
| Stay about the same..... | 27 | 28 | 30 | 30 | 26 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 44 | 44 | 39 | 43 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 9 | |

ASK Q.10c.
SKIP TO Q.11a.

(FORM A ONLY)

10c. Why do you feel that way? Why do you feel the national economy will (get better/get worse/stay about the same)? **[62-69]**

| Net Getting Better | 49% | Net Getting Worse | 42% |
|--|-----|---|-----|
| The war is over; the outcome of the war was good | 18 | Unemployment, layoffs | 9 |
| It has to change for the better; we reached rock bottom, no place to go but up | 8 | Other reasons the economy is getting worse | 8 |
| Other reasons economy will improve | 7 | Not enough being done to reduce the deficit | 6 |
| People are happy, morale is up | 6 | Things are bad now and getting worse | 4 |
| It is getting better already, changes are noticeable | 6 | The economy is in bad shape | 4 |
| | | Don't know/no response | 3% |

(BOTH FORMS)

11a. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW.)

| | | <u>12/90</u> | <u>10/90</u> | <u>9/9</u> | <u>7/9</u> | <u>5/9</u> | <u>3/9</u> | <u>1/9</u> | <u>9/8</u> | |
|----------------------------------|----|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------|
| Inflation..... | 10 | 11 | 13 | <u>0</u> 13 | <u>0</u> 8 | <u>0</u> 9 | <u>0</u> 13 | <u>0</u> 12 | <u>9</u> 12 | [70] |
| Unemployment..... | 31 | 26 | 16 | 22 | 21 | 22 | 20 | 23 | 23 | |
| Interest rates..... | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | |
| The federal budget deficit. . | 32 | 35 | 43 | 34 | 37 | 35 | 30 | 29 | 32 | |
| Federal taxes..... | 6 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 8 | |
| The U.S. trade deficit..... | 10 | 11 | 9 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 17 | 18 | 15 | |
| All equally important (VOL)..... | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | |
| None is important (VOL)... | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | |

11b. Now, let me read you these economic issues again. This time, please tell me whether you feel that, in the next twelve months, (READ FIRST ITEM ON LIST) will increase, decrease, or stay about the same. (RECORD BELOW AND REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST.)

| | <u>Increase</u> | <u>Decrease</u> | <u>Stay About The Same</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------|
| Inflation..... | 36 | 19 | 42 | 3 | [71] |
| January 1990 | 47 | 7 | 43 | 3 | |
| September 1989 | 43 | 8 | 45 | 4 | |
| Unemployment..... | 46 | 28 | 23 | 3 | [72] |
| January 1990 | 45 | 14 | 38 | 3 | |
| September 1989 | 34 | 20 | 42 | 4 | |
| Interest rates..... | 31 | 32 | 32 | 5 | [73] |
| January 1990 | 34 | 31 | 31 | 4 | |
| September 1989 | 43 | 21 | 30 | 6 | |
| The federal budget deficit.. | 61 | 11 | 21 | 7 | [74] |
| January 1990 | 53 | 14 | 28 | 5 | |
| September 1989 | 56 | 13 | 24 | 7 | |
| Federal taxes..... | 59 | 7 | 30 | 4 | [75] |
| January 1990 | 47 | 6 | 43 | 4 | |
| September 1989 | 56 | 7 | 33 | 4 | |
| The U.S. trade deficit..... | 39 | 20 | 28 | 13 | [76] |
| January 1990 | 41 | 16 | 32 | 11 | |
| September 1989 | 40 | 18 | 30 | 12 | |

#4010-October 1990

8a. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.8a.)

| | <u>9/90</u> | | <u>7/90</u> | <u>5/90</u> | <u>3/90</u> | <u>1/90</u> | <u>9/89</u> |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Inflation..... | 13 | [36] | 8 | 9 | 13 | 12 | 12 |
| Unemployment..... | 22 | | 21 | 22 | 20 | 23 | 23 |
| Interest rates..... | 3 | | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| The federal budget deficit..... | 34 | | 37 | 35 | 30 | 29 | 32 |
| Federal taxes..... | 5 | | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| The U.S. trade deficit..... | 14 | | 14 | 14 | 17 | 18 | 15 |
| All equally important (VOL)..... | 6 | SKI P TO Q.9 a. | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| None is important (VOL)..... | 1 | | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Not sure..... | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

8b. And which of these is the second most important? (READ REMAINING CHOICES AND RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.8b.)

| | <u>9/90</u> | | <u>7/90</u> | <u>5/90</u> | <u>3/90</u> | <u>1/90</u> | <u>9/89</u> |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Inflation..... | 17 | [37] | 16 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 14 |
| Unemployment..... | 17 | | 15 | 13 | 18 | 16 | 15 |
| Interest rates..... | 8 | | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| The federal budget deficit..... | 15 | | 17 | 16 | 18 | 20 | 19 |
| Federal taxes..... | 10 | | 16 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 13 |
| The U.S. trade deficit..... | 21 | | 20 | 25 | 17 | 20 | 22 |
| None is important (VOL)..... | - | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Not sure..... | 3 | | | | | | |
| No most important issue..... | 9 | | 7 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 6 |

10a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

| | | <u>12/9</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/90</u> | <u>7/90</u> | <u>5/90</u> | <u>4/90</u> | <u>3/90</u> | <u>1/90</u> | <u>11/89</u> | <u>9/8</u> | |
|----------------------------|----|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|------|
| Better..... | 8 | <u>0</u> 3 | <u>0</u> 3 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 15 | <u>9</u> 18 | [60] |
| Worse..... | 64 | 73 | 72 | 57 | 37 | 36 | 30 | 37 | 29 | 34 | 23 | |
| Stayed about the same..... | 27 | 23 | 24 | 35 | 51 | 52 | 56 | 48 | 57 | 49 | 57 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | |

#4016-March 1991

10b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

| | | <u>1/9</u> | <u>12/9</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/9</u> | <u>7/9</u> | <u>5/90</u> | <u>4/90</u> | <u>3/90</u> | <u>1/90</u> | <u>11/8</u> | <u>9/89</u> | |
|--------------------------|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|------|
| Better..... | 46 | <u>1</u> 25 | <u>0</u> 21 | <u>0</u> 13 | <u>0</u> 16 | <u>0</u> 20 | 22 | 24 | 21 | 22 | <u>9</u> 21 | 25 | [61] |
| Worse..... | 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stay about the same..... | 27 | 40 28 | 45 30 | 52 30 | 49 26 | 33 40 | 32 41 | 29 42 | 30 44 | 28 44 | 33 39 | 23 43 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 9 | |

ASK
Q.10c.

SKIP TO
Q.11a.

(FORM A ONLY)

10c. Why do you feel that way? Why do you feel the national economy will (get better/get worse/stay about the same)?

| Net Getting Better | 49% | Net Getting Worse | 42% |
|--|-----|---|-----|
| The war is over; the outcome of the war was good | 18 | Unemployment, layoffs | 9 |
| It has to change for the better; we reached rock bottom, no place to go but up | 8 | Other reasons the economy is getting worse | 8 |
| Other reasons economy will improve | 7 | Not enough being done to reduce the deficit | 6 |
| People are happy, morale is up | 6 | Things are bad now and getting worse | 4 |
| It is getting better already, changes are noticeable | 6 | The economy is in bad shape | 4 |
| ----- | | ----- | |
| | | Don't know/no response | 3% |

(BOTH FORMS)

Study 4016page 2

11a. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW.)

| | | <u>12/90</u> | <u>10/90</u> | <u>9/9</u> | <u>7/9</u> | <u>5/9</u> | <u>3/9</u> | <u>1/9</u> | <u>9/8</u> | |
|-------------------------------|----|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Inflation..... | 10 | 11 | 13 | <u>0</u> 13 | <u>0</u> 8 | <u>0</u> 9 | <u>0</u> 13 | <u>0</u> 12 | <u>9</u> 12 | [70] |
| Unemployment..... | 31 | 26 | 16 | 22 | 21 | 22 | 20 | 23 | 23 | |
| Interest rates..... | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | |
| The federal budget deficit. . | 32 | 35 | 43 | 34 | 37 | 35 | 30 | 29 | 32 | |
| Federal taxes..... | 6 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 8 | |
| The U.S. trade deficit..... | 10 | 11 | 9 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 17 | 18 | 15 | |
| All equally important | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | |
| (VOL)..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| None is important (VOL)... | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | |

11b. Now, let me read you these economic issues again. This time, please tell me whether you feel that, in the next twelve months, (READ FIRST ITEM ON LIST) will increase, decrease, or stay about the same. (RECORD BELOW AND REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST.)

| | <u>Increase</u> | <u>Decrease</u> | <u>Stay About The Same</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------|
| Inflation..... | 36 | 19 | 42 | 3 | [71] |
| January 1990 | 47 | 7 | 43 | 3 | |
| September 1989 | 43 | 8 | 45 | 4 | |
| Unemployment..... | 46 | 28 | 23 | 3 | [72] |
| January 1990 | 45 | 14 | 38 | 3 | |
| September 1989 | 34 | 20 | 42 | 4 | |
| Interest rates..... | 31 | 32 | 32 | 5 | [73] |
| January 1990 | 34 | 31 | 31 | 4 | |
| September 1989 | 43 | 21 | 30 | 6 | |
| The federal budget deficit.. | 61 | 11 | 21 | 7 | [74] |
| January 1990 | 53 | 14 | 28 | 5 | |
| September 1989 | 56 | 13 | 24 | 7 | |
| Federal taxes..... | 59 | 7 | 30 | 4 | [75] |
| January 1990 | 47 | 6 | 43 | 4 | |
| September 1989 | 56 | 7 | 33 | 4 | |
| The U.S. trade deficit..... | 39 | 20 | 28 | 13 | [76] |
| January 1990 | 41 | 16 | 32 | 11 | |
| September 1989 | 40 | 18 | 30 | 12 | |

12a. For each of the following areas, please tell me if you feel America is the very best among the major countries in the world, one of the best, about average, one of the worst, or the very worst. When it comes to (READ ITEM), is America the very best, one of the best, about average, one of the worst, or the very worst? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

| | <u>The Very Best</u> | <u>One Of The Best</u> | <u>About Average</u> | <u>One Of The Worst</u> | <u>The Very Worst</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|--|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------|
| Being a military power.... | 60 | 36 | 3 | - | - | 1 | [77] |
| May 1990 | 28 | 57 | 12 | 1 | - | 2 | |
| Being an economic power..... | 20 | 48 | 26 | 3 | 1 | 2 | [78] |
| May 1990 | 12 | 46 | 33 | 6 | - | 3 | |
| Being a world leader that promotes peace..... | 42 | 40 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 1 | [79] |

12b. When it comes to economic power, which country is in a stronger position--the U.S. or Japan?

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|-------------|------|
| | | <u>1/90</u> | |
| The U.S..... | 26 | 20 | [80] |
| Japan..... | 66 | 73 | |
| About equal (VOL)..... | 3 | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 5 | 4 | |

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about personal finances and spending.

13a. Generally speaking, would you say your own family's financial situation is in good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

| | | | |
|----------------------|----|-------------|------|
| | | <u>1/90</u> | |
| Good shape..... | 43 | 37 | [81] |
| Only fair shape..... | 45 | 51 | |
| Poor shape..... | 12 | 12 | |
| Not sure..... | - | - | |

13b. During the next year, do you think your family will be financially better off than it is today, worse off, or about the same?

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|----|-------------|--------------|-------------|------|
| | | <u>1/90</u> | <u>11/89</u> | <u>9/89</u> | |
| Better off..... | 36 | 30 | 31 | 34 | [82] |
| Worse off..... | 8 | 9 | 14 | 13 | |
| About the same..... | 55 | 59 | 53 | 51 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | |

14a. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past year, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on purchases and other spending, have you been increasing your purchases and other spending during the past year, or has there been little change over the past year?

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|------|
| | | <u>12/90</u> | <u>10/90</u> | <u>9/90</u> | <u>7/90</u> * | <u>5/90</u> * | <u>3/90</u> * | <u>1/90</u> | |
| | | * | * | * | | | | | |
| Cutting down..... | 49 | 57 | 55 | 49 | 41 | 41 | 45 | 41 | [83] |
| Increasing..... | 11 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 16 | |
| Little change..... | 40 | 33 | 38 | 41 | 44 | 43 | 42 | 42 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | |

14b. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past year, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on savings and other investments, have you been increasing your savings and other investments during the past year, or has there been little change over the past year?

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|------|
| | | <u>12/90</u> | <u>10/90</u> | <u>9/90</u> | <u>7/90</u> * | <u>5/90</u> * | <u>3/90</u> * | <u>1/90</u> | |
| | | * | * | * | | | | | |
| Cutting down..... | 28 | 36 | 28 | 28 | 25 | 24 | 25 | 29 | [84] |
| Increasing..... | 25 | 17 | 15 | 17 | 21 | 23 | 20 | 23 | |
| Little change..... | 47 | 46 | 55 | 54 | 53 | 52 | 54 | 47 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |

* In March, May, July, September, and October 1990, these questions were asked about changes "over the past three months."

14c. Do you expect to spend more, about the same, or less on major purchases this year than you did last year?

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|------|
| Spend more..... | 2 | [85] |
| | 1 | |
| Spend about the same..... | 3 | |
| | 8 | |
| Spend less..... | 4 | |
| | 0 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

14d. Compared to a few years ago, do you get more pleasure, less pleasure, or about the same amount of pleasure from buying yourself something new? Set by 4010 page 2

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|------|
| More pleasure..... | 2 | [86] |
| | 9 | |
| Less pleasure..... | 2 | |
| | 0 | |
| About the same amount of | 4 | |
| pleasure..... | 9 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | |

14e. In general, are you comfortable or uncomfortable with your ability to manage debt and pay the bills you currently owe?

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|------|
| Comfortable..... | 7 | [87] |
| | 7 | |
| Uncomfortable..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| In between (VOL)..... | 4 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

14f. Over the next 12 months, do you think the amount of money you owe will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|------|
| Increase..... | 1 | [88] |
| | 6 | |
| Decrease..... | 4 | |
| | 1 | |
| Stay about the same..... | 4 | |
| | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

14g. Compared to a few years ago, do you place more, less, or about the same amount of emphasis on planning and budgeting your money?

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|------|
| More emphasis..... | 5 | [89] |
| | 4 | |
| Less emphasis..... | 5 | |
| About the same amount of | 4 | |
| emphasis..... | 0 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economic recession.

15a. Do you think the recession is going to be mild or severe?

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|--------------|------|
| Mild..... | 67 | <u>12/90</u> | |
| | | 45 | [90] |
| Severe..... | 22 | 39 | |
| In between (VOL)..... | 7 | 9 | |
| Not sure..... | 4 | 7 | |

15b. Has the recession directly affected you and your family, or have you not been affected by it?

(IF "AFFECTED," ASK:) Would you say it has had a big or a small effect on you and your family?

*

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|--------------|------|
| YES, AFFECTED | | <u>12/90</u> | |
| Big effect..... | 18 | 55 | [91] |
| Small effect..... | 24 | | |
| NO, NOT AFFECTED | 56 | 45 | |
| NOT SURE | 2 | - | |

* In December 1990, this part of the question was not asked.

15c. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your household will lose their job as a result of the recession--extremely likely, very likely, just somewhat likely, or not that likely?

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|------|
| Extremely likely..... | 8 | [92] |
| Very likely..... | 7 | |
| Just somewhat likely..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Not that likely..... | 6 | |
| | 8 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | |

16. In the past six months, have you or has anyone in your household had their income reduced because of a reduction in hours worked, lost overtime, a salary cut, or lost business?

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------|
| Yes, income reduced..... | 2 | [93] |
| | 9 | |
| No, income not reduced..... | 6 | |
| | 8 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

(FORM A ONLY)

Study 4016page 2

17. **(FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST, ASK:)** Do you think **(READ ITEM)** is doing enough or is not doing enough to combat the recession? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

| | Doing Enough | Not Doing Enough | Not Sure | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|------|
| The Bush Administration..... | 33 | 55 | 12 | [94] |
| The Federal Reserve..... | 28 | 50 | 22 | [95] |
| Congress..... | 15 | 75 | 10 | [96] |

(FORM B ONLY)

17. Here are some different actions the government could take to try to end the recession. For each, please tell me whether you think this action would be extremely effective, quite effective, just somewhat effective, or not that effective in ending the recession. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** How effective do you think **(READ ITEM)** would be in ending the recession--extremely effective, quite effective, just somewhat effective, or not that effective? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

| | Extremel y Effective | Quite Effective | Just Somewh at Effective | Not That Effectiv e | Not Sure | |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Lowering interest rates..... | 18 | 24 | 41 | 14 | 3 | [97] |
| Lowering taxes..... | 21 | 19 | 33 | 24 | 3 | [98] |
| Increasing government spending to help those who are unemployed..... | 14 | 17 | 29 | 35 | 5 | [99] |
| Loosening regulations to make it easier for banks to make loans to individuals and businesses..... | 18 | 20 | 28 | 27 | 7 | [100] |

(BOTH FORMS)

- 18a. Let us suppose the government needs to raise taxes. Would you favor or oppose enacting a 10% surtax on individuals with an income over 1 million dollars?

| | | | |
|---------------|----|-------------|-------|
| | | <u>12/9</u> | |
| Favor..... | 81 | 0 | |
| Oppose..... | 15 | 84 | [101] |
| Not sure..... | 4 | 14 | |
| | | 2 | |

- 18b. As you may know, the Bush Administration has proposed cutting the tax rate on capital gains--that is, the tax on profits from investments such as the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate. Would you favor or oppose such a tax cut?

| | | | |
|---------------|----|-------------|-------|
| | | <u>1/90</u> | |
| Favor..... | 45 | 45 | [102] |
| Oppose..... | 45 | 47 | |
| Not sure..... | 10 | 8 | |

- 18c. And would you favor or oppose cutting the Social Security payroll tax for individuals with an income under roughly \$60,000 and increasing it for individuals with an income above roughly \$60,000?

| | | |
|-------------|---|-------|
| Favor..... | 5 | [103] |
| | 5 | |
| Oppose..... | 3 | |
| | 7 | |

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about domestic policy.

Study 4010 page 2

- 19a. Would you favor or oppose increasing the tax on imported oil, which would send up the price of gasoline but also reduce our dependence on foreign oil and encourage conservation?

| | | |
|---------------|---|-------|
| Favor..... | 5 | [104] |
| | 5 | |
| Oppose..... | 3 | |
| | 7 | |
| Not sure..... | 8 | |

- 19b. Some people think the government should loosen some restrictions on offshore drilling because we are importing more than half our oil from foreign countries, which is more expensive. Others think the government should not loosen any restrictions on offshore drilling because the risk to the environment is too great. Which do you agree with?

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|--------|----|-------|
| Loosen some restrictions..... | 41 | 8/90 * | 48 | [105] |
| Do not loosen restrictions..... | 51 | | 42 | |
| Not sure..... | 8 | | 10 | |

* In August 1990, this question read "Let me read you a number of proposals some people have suggested that America should pass in order to avoid an energy shortage. For each, please tell me if you favor or oppose this suggestion -- Loosen restrictions on offshore oil drilling."

- 19c. In general, do you think the nation's banking system is or is not sound?

| | | |
|---|---|-------|
| Banking system is sound..... | 3 | [106] |
| | 7 | |
| Banking system is <u>not</u> sound..... | 5 | |
| | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | |

- 19d. Do you think the nation's current banking system does or does not need major changes?

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-------|
| Does need major changes..... | 6 | [107] |
| | 9 | |
| Does not need major changes..... | 2 | |
| | 4 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | |

- 19e. And generally, do you think your money is safer in a big bank or a small bank?

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|-------|
| Big bank..... | 3 | [108] |
| | 9 | |
| Small bank..... | 2 | |
| | 5 | |
| Depends on the bank (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| | 0 | |
| Both equally (VOL)..... | 8 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| | 0 | |
| Not sure..... | 8 | |

- 19f. Now, let me read you a number of changes some people have proposed in the current banking laws. For each, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose this change. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Would you favor or oppose **(READ ITEM)? (ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

| | <u>Favor</u> | <u>Oppose</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------------|-------|
| Allowing companies that own banks also to sell insurance, stocks, and bonds..... | 36 | 51 | 13 | [109] |
| | 54 | 36 | 10 | [110] |
| Removing restrictions on where banks can locate, and allowing them to open offices anywhere in | | | | |

| | | | | |
|--|------------------|----|----|-------|
| the country..... | Study 4016page 2 | | | |
| | 51 | 42 | 7 | [111] |
| Allowing an individual to have only one account insured for up to \$100,000 by the federal government at any one bank..... | | | | |
| | 25 | 60 | 15 | [112] |
| Allowing non-financial companies to own banks..... | | | | |

Now, I'd like to ask you about the Soviet Union.

20a. Do you think President Gorbachev ("gor-bah-CHOFF") is or is not in control of the government of the Soviet Union at the present time?

| | | |
|--|---|-------|
| Gorbachev is in control of government. | 3 | [113] |
| | 8 | |
| Gorbachev is <u>not</u> in control of | 5 | |
| government..... | 1 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |

20b. Based on what you know, do you think President Gorbachev will or will not still be the leader of the Soviet Union one year from now?

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|---------------|------|
| Will be the leader..... | 42 | <u>5/90</u> * | |
| | | 64 | [114 |
| | | |] |
| Will not be the leader..... | 45 | 23 | |
| Not sure..... | 13 | 13 | |

* In May 1990, this question read "From what you know, do you think President Gorbachev will or will not still be the leader of the Soviet Union two years from now?"

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the situation in the Middle East.

21a. Thinking back to how you felt **before** the war started, which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view **last January**? (**READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.**)

A) After the U.N. deadline of January 15, the United States should continue to wait for economic sanctions to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

B) After the U.N. deadline of January 15, the United States should take military action to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

| | | |
|--|---|-------|
| Should continue to wait for economic sanctions . . | 2 | [115] |
| | 1 | |
| Should take military action..... | 7 | |
| | 6 | |
| Both equally (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

21b. If the Iraqi army uses chemical weapons against its own people, would you favor or oppose the United States' restarting military action against the Iraqi army?

| | | |
|---------------|---|-------|
| Favor..... | 6 | [116] |
| | 9 | |
| Oppose..... | 2 | |
| | 5 | |
| Not sure..... | 6 | |

21c. Do you feel it is acceptable or unacceptable for the United States to send women on military missions where they may be involved in combat?

| | | | |
|-------------------|----|-------------|-------|
| Acceptable..... | 74 | <u>9/90</u> | |
| Unacceptable..... | 23 | 73 | [117] |
| Not sure..... | 3 | 23 | |
| | | 4 | |

(FORM B ONLY)

21d. Since the war with Iraq started, have you gained respect for **(READ ITEM)**, lost respect, or is your opinion unchanged? **(REPEAT FOR OTHER ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

| | <u>Gained Respec t</u> | <u>Lost Respec t</u> | <u>Opinion Unchanged</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Great Britain..... | 43 | 2 | 52 | 3 | [118] |
| January 1991 | 62 | 4 | 31 | 3 | |
| Germany..... | 19 | 24 | 51 | 6 | [119] |
| February 1991 | 10 | 16 | 66 | 8 | |
| January 1991 | 17 | 23 | 51 | 9 | |
| Israel..... | 55 | 7 | 33 | 5 | [120] |
| January 1991 | 65 | 5 | 27 | 3 | |
| The news media..... | 35 | 27 | 35 | 3 | [121] |
| February 1991 * | 40 | 23 | 34 | 3 | |
| January 1991 * | 45 | 20 | 33 | 2 | |
| Saudi Arabia..... | 49 | 8 | 36 | 7 | [122] |
| Companies in the defense industry..... | 41 | 11 | 40 | 8 | [123] |
| January 1991 | 37 | 9 | 46 | 8 | |
| Egypt..... | 36 | 8 | 46 | 10 | [124] |
| Japan..... | 14 | 37 | 43 | 6 | [125] |
| February 1991 | 11 | 29 | 51 | 9 | |
| January 1991 | 10 | 42 | 42 | 6 | |
| The Soviet Union..... | 24 | 25 | 46 | 5 | [126] |
| February 1991 | 18 | 28 | 47 | 7 | |

* In January and February 1991, this phrase read "The news media and the way they have covered the war."

(BOTH FORMS)

21e. In the Mideast situation, are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations?

| | | <u>4/89 *</u> | <u>4/77 *</u> | <u>6/75 *</u> | <u>5/75 *</u> | <u>1/74 *</u> | <u>12/73 *</u> | |
|---------------------------------|----|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|
| More with Israel..... | 51 | 36 | 43 | 37 | 43 | 40 | 48 | [127] |
| More with the Arab nations..... | 16 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 7 | |
| Both (VOL)..... | 12 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 7 | 10 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 10 | 23 | 23 | 28 | 22 | 24 | 18 | |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 14 | 21 | 17 | |

21f. Because of the war, has your opinion of the Arab people become more favorable, less favorable, or has it stayed about the same?

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------|
| More favorable..... | 2 | [128] |
| | 1 | |
| Less favorable..... | 1 | |
| | 3 | |
| Stayed about the same..... | 6 | |
| | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 4 | |

22. Let me read you a number of actions the United States could take now that the war with Iraq has ended. For each, please tell me if you would favor or oppose the United States' taking this action. (FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose the United States' (READ ITEM)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

| | <u>Favor</u> | <u>Oppose</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------------|-------|
| Allowing Saddam Hussein to go into exile if he steps down as the leader of Iraq..... | 41 | 55 | 4 | [129] |
| February 1991 | 46 | 46 | 8 | |
| Pressuring Israel to agree to give up occupied territories in exchange for secure borders..... | 57 | 30 | 13 | [130] |
| Leaving a U.S. military force in the Middle East..... | 57 | 39 | 4 | [131] |
| February 1991 | 55 | 37 | 8 | |
| Contributing money to help rebuild Iraq..... | 18 | 78 | 4 | [132] |
| February 1991 | 28 | 67 | 5 | |
| Putting Saddam Hussein on trial for war crimes..... | 85 | 11 | 4 | [133] |
| February 1991 | 84 | 11 | 5 | |
| Establishing a U.S. military base in the Middle East..... | 55 | 39 | 6 | [134] |

23. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view?

Statement A: The war with Iraq taught us that the United States should not be as reluctant to use its forces and superior weapons when American interests are threatened.

Statement B: The war with Iraq taught us that this was a special circumstance in which the United States had the support of many countries, and that the United States should use military force only as a last resort.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|-------|
| Statement A..... | 1 | [135] |
| | 5 | |
| Statement B..... | 8 | |
| | 0 | |
| Both equally (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | |

24. Have you changed any vacation or travel plans because of the war with Iraq and concern about terrorist attacks?

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-------|
| Yes, have changed plans..... | 1 | [136] |
| | 0 | |
| No, have not changed plans..... | 8 | |
| | 9 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

Getting to the end of our survey:

25. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. **(READ BOTH STATEMENTS SLOWLY. IF RESPONDENT SELECTS STATEMENT, ASK:)** Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly? **(ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas.

Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be phased out because they unfairly discriminate against whites.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------|
| Statement A/Strongly..... | 4 | [137] |
| | 0 | |
| Statement A/Not strongly..... | 2 | |
| | 1 | |
| Statement B/Strongly..... | 1 | |
| | 7 | |
| Statement B/Not strongly..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |

- 26a. During your lifetime, which of the following events made you most proud to be an American? **(READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

| | | |
|--|---|-------|
| John F. Kennedy's leadership as president..... | 1 | [138] |
| | 2 | |
| Winning the war with Iraq..... | 3 | |
| | 0 | |
| Martin Luther King's leadership on civil rights..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| Ronald Reagan's leadership as president..... | 4 | |
| Americans landing on the moon..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Winning World War II..... | 1 | |
| | 4 | |
| Winning the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles..... | 2 | |
| Other (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| None of these (VOL)..... | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 4 | |

- 26b. As you may know, the faces of four presidents--George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt--are carved into the side of Mount Rushmore. Which **one** of the following presidents would you most like to see added as a fifth face on Mount Rushmore--**(READ LIST)? (ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------|
| John F. Kennedy..... | 3 | [139] |
| | 6 | |
| George Bush..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| Franklin Roosevelt..... | 2 | |
| | 8 | |
| Ronald Reagan..... | 6 | |
| None of these (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------|
| Very liberal..... | 8 | [140] |
| Somewhat liberal..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| Moderate..... | 2 | |
| | 8 | |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Somewhat conservative..... | 2 |
| | 6 |
| Very conservative..... | 9 |
| No thoughts..... | 1 |
| | 0 |
| Not sure..... | 1 |

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school?

| | | |
|--|---|-------|
| Grade school..... | 3 | [141] |
| Some high school..... | 6 | |
| High school graduate..... | 3 | |
| | 2 | |
| Some college, no degree..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Vocational training, 2-year college..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| 4-year college/Bachelor's degree..... | 1 | |
| | 9 | |
| Some postgraduate work, no degree..... | 3 | |
| 2-3 years' postgraduate work, Master's degree..... | 8 | |
| Doctoral degree/law degree..... | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | - | |

F3. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 26, 27 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

| | | | | |
|------------|---|-----------------------|----|-------|
| 18-24..... | 6 | 45-49..... | 8 | [142] |
| 25-26..... | 4 | 50-54..... | 7 | |
| 27-29..... | 8 | 55-59..... | 7 | |
| 30-34..... | 1 | 60-64..... | 6 | |
| | 3 | | | |
| 35-39..... | 1 | 65 and over..... | 16 | |
| | 3 | | | |
| 40-44..... | 1 | Not sure/refused..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | | | |

F4. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------|
| JOB DESCRIPTION: | | |
| -----OFFICE USE | | |
| | 2 | [143] |
| Professional/manager..... | 3 | |
| White collar worker..... | 2 | |
| | 5 | |
| Blue collar worker..... | 2 | |
| | 3 | |
| Farmer..... | 1 | |
| Student..... | 2 | |
| Homemaker..... | 6 | |
| Retired..... | 1 | |
| | 7 | |
| Unemployed..... | 2 | |
| Never worked/not sure..... | 1 | |

F5. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------|
| Labor union member..... | 1 | [144] |
| | 4 | |
| Labor union household..... | 8 | |
| Non-union household..... | 7 | |
| | 7 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

F6. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------|
| Single..... | 1 | [145] |
| | 9 | |
| Married..... | 6 | |
| | 1 | |
| Separated..... | 3 | |
| Divorced..... | 1 | |
| | 0 | |
| Widowed..... | 7 | |

Not sure/refused..... -

F7. In what religion were you brought up?

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------|
| Protestant..... | 4 | [146] |
| | 1 | |
| Catholic..... | 2 | |
| | 9 | |
| Jewish..... | 3 | |
| Other..... | 2 | |
| | 2 | |
| None..... | 4 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 1 | |

F8. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------|
| White..... | 8 | [147] |
| | 1 | |
| Black..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| Hispanic..... | 4 | |
| Asian..... | 1 | |
| Other..... | 2 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 1 | |

F9. If you added the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---|-------|
| Less than \$10,000..... | 6 | [148] |
| Between \$10,000 and \$20,000..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| Between \$20,000 and \$30,000..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| Between \$30,000 and \$40,000..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Between \$40,000 and \$50,000..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Between \$50,000 and \$75,000..... | 1 | |
| | 4 | |
| More than \$75,000..... | 8 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 8 | |

F10. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------|
| Do not object..... | 8 | [149] |
| | 5 | |
| Object--do not call..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |

May we please have your initials for validation purposes?

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| | | |
| [151] | [152] | [153] |

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

.. .. .

Telephone Number--Get from Call Sheet:

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| AREA | | | | | | | | |
| CODE | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| [154] | [155] | [156] | [157] | [158] | [159] | [160] | [161] | [162] |
| | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | [163] |

Call Attempt:

| | | |
|------------------|---|-------|
| First call..... | 1 | [166] |
| Second call..... | 2 | |
| Third call..... | 3 | |

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED
ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH HART-TEETER

Interviewer's Name (PLEASE SIGN): ~~~~~

Validated By: ~~~~~ Date: ~~~~~

Validator: Record a "1" [167]